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The Pew Center for Arts & Heritage

Site Read: Seven Curators on Their Landmark Exhibitions

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Site Read

Seven Curators on Their Landmark Exhibitions

Making *Spaces*: An Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art

Jennifer (Licht) Winkworth

When I went to work at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in the mid-1960s, the institution was in a state of flux. An earlier generation of principal figures had begun to step down. By the end of the decade, René d'Harnoncourt (the director since 1949), Alfred H. Barr Jr. (founding and advisory director), and Dorothy Miller (the museum's first curator) had all retired. In addition, two chief curators of painting and sculpture, Peter Selz and William Seitz, had resigned, and the subsequent curator, Frank O'Hara, had died. MoMA was a grand international presence by then, but among the governing trustees there were questions concerning the museum's future direction. Reflecting this uncertainty, the museum had four directors in close succession over the course of the four years after d'Harnoncourt's retirement.[1] I came from London, and I was hired in 1964 as curatorial assistant in the department of painting and sculpture exhibitions. With changes in directorship came administrative and curatorial change. Two formerly separate departments, acquisitions and exhibitions, merged to form painting and sculpture. New appointments were made, and by 1968 I had been promoted to associate curator.

As far as contemporary art was concerned, the museum felt moribund and hostile to current trends. Apparently as a result of a dispute during a Mark Rothko exhibition some years earlier, there remained a prejudice against allowing artists to be present during installations of their work.[2] And I heard with shock a chief curator roar angrily before an acquisitions meeting, "A Lichtenstein enters the collection of this museum over my dead body!" I was once present when department heads discussed the exhibition program purely on grounds of popularity: which theme or artist might have the most "sex appeal" and could draw the biggest crowds. (That meeting was impressed on my memory when Barr, normally the most reticent of men, walked

out in disgust.) Contemporary art was certainly not then the popular arena it has since become and so could be accused of lacking "sex appeal." There was little sense of welcome in the museum for new, untried artists, who did not draw the enormous audiences that modern masters could.

My own stimuli came not from intramural sources but from artists I knew and from the active gallery scene of those years. Sol LeWitt and Sonja Flavin still worked at MoMA when I arrived there. My friendships with them quickly helped me find my way in my new city, my new art world. Private galleries were flourishing, and every Saturday I made the rounds of exhibitions. There was a world of hallowed art inside the museum and a quite different, much livelier milieu outside. I was in the ambivalent position of loving the museum as an institution and loving new art intellectually, and it grew harder for me to marry those two enthusiasms. Creative expression is not constrained by institutions and rules–the history of art does not stand still–and I believed strongly in MoMA's mandate to remain pertinent for new generations.

Toward the close of the decade, protest groups had begun to form within the art community, and I sympathized with some of their objectives.[3] The protesters often targeted MoMA with charges of elitism, and they demanded greater participation for artists in decisions ranging from curatorial programs to entrance charges.[4] As a result, a sense of urgency arose within the administration, and a committee, on which I would serve, was hastily announced early in 1969 to consider some of the accusations.[5]

Bates Lowry, who had been appointed director in 1968, was also in charge of painting and sculpture. Acknowledging a lack of engagement with contemporary art in MoMA programs, he suggested mounting a group exhibition to open at the end of 1969. My appointment diary from the time notes that starting in January 1969 I met regularly

with Lowry, and subsequently he asked me to develop the proposal. During that period, I was carrying in-house responsibility for a huge, complex exhibition, *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age*, and its many attendant events as well as the tour following the New York closing in February 1969.[6] It was not an ideal moment to think of taking on my first major project, but this was an opportunity that might not soon come again! The hierarchy when I started at MoMA comprised male department heads served by female assistants. Several senior women, fully equipped to act independently to mount exhibitions and make acquisitions, remained permanently in distaff roles. While I admired and learned from them, I never wished my career path to mirror theirs.

Without time for travel or lengthy research–indeed, little time even to reflect very deeply–I looked for inspiration to current practices in the art world around me. For some time I had witnessed many artists I knew working in ways that could not be defined in terms of traditional painting or sculpture. I was mainly drawn by Minimal and Conceptual trends, and it is hard to think of one among the artists that most intrigued me who was not immersed in projects that ignored the classic structures of stretcher or pedestal.[7] Many were engaged in work that imported elements from an array of cultural and scientific disciplines, such as dance, music, philosophy, mathematics, geography, and geology. These artists were concerned with compound, spatially comprehensive compositions rather than unitary objects, sometimes employing materials and techniques of fabrication that were not customarily associated with aesthetic invention. Some of the new work took the form of installations that could envelop or incorporate the spectator, and this aspect of innovation, in particular, interested me at that time.

My own curatorial status naturally led me to

ponder how such art could be accommodated in a museum framework. Normally exhibitions are composed by reviewing and selecting from an existing body of paintings and sculptures. The art I wanted to encompass in the museum's program would be ephemeral: conceived exclusively for a particular place and event. The production of the work would become a shared enterprise between the institution and the artist. Installations were a form with which many artists were actively engaged, but the museum had never distinguished the phenomenon nor attempted to bring it before the public. The methods then in place to handle works of art were established for the preservation of static, two- or three-dimensional objects. I aspired to enlarge our scope and our practices. For the forthcoming group exhibition I decided to commission a group of site-specific projects. The artists would be linked not necessarily stylistically but by their interest in creating installation works in a museum facility, where I, as curator, would collaborate in their realization.

The curatorial role would pivot with the art of my time. Site-specific installations, like other contemporaneous forms such as video, performance, Land, Conceptual, and Process art, presented challenges to historical classification. Most were not conceived as transportable objects that could be treated as commodities to be displayed, traded, and collected–as investment assets or preserved in perpetuity in public institutions. Installations exist in a particular form as the occasion and site demand. I intended to adapt procedures to accommodate such works, and I elicited proposals that would test conventional museological practice.

Lowry echoed our discussions in an announcement to the press that future exhibitions should "reflect the current diffusion of traditional boundaries. . . . Plans are also being made for the exhibition and collection of works involving radical innovations. For this, new flexible gallery space

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Robert Morris, *Untitled*, 1969. Presented at *Spaces*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1969. Photo: James Mathews, © The Museum of Modern Art / licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

will be required and new methods of preparation are being developed."[8] In May 1969, a week before my draft proposal was to be submitted to a committee of department heads, Lowry called me in the evening to say he had been asked to resign. His sudden departure caused disarray throughout the museum. Walter Bareiss, a trustee who stepped in immediately as interim director, verbally authorized me to go ahead with my plans, but from then on the exhibition proceeded on sufferance. Support from administrators was tentative, the budget sketchy, and the time frame worryingly short. The exhibition was not even publicly announced until July 1969, when it was mentioned in a press release listing of future events as "Environmental Art" with no further details. I later came up with the simple, unceremonious title *Spaces*, which gave me plenty of leeway as I refined my ideas. The artists I eventually invited to participate were chosen from many whose work would have fit the proposed theme.

There were indeed several shows during that period that aimed to survey contemporary developments as they went beyond conventions of frame and pedestal. Perhaps the best remembered now are *Op Losse Schroeven* (a phrase that nicely conceded the uncertainty of the venture), organized by Wim Beeren at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, and the weightier *Live in Your Head: When Attitudes Become Form*, organized by Harald Szeemann at Kunsthalle Bern, both of which opened earlier in 1969. They included installation works, but were essentially broad readings of avant-garde currents of the time. The former focused on the introduction of new materials, and the latter on concepts of process as form, and they included works that were executed beyond the museum walls. I could not travel and my acquaintance with those exhibitions came only from written material. In any case, my main preoccupation was the interface between my institution and an emergent trend in the art world. I was

hemmed in, it is true, by impositions of time and funding, but in fact the question of how to liberalize and advance practices within the museum to encompass installation art was my core interest at that point.

The temporary exhibition gallery, the Garden Wing, was not an immense space. In my view, it lacked the capacity for big survey shows in which scores of artists are represented by a single work each. A model I admired, however, was mounted by Dorothy Miller, the revered first curator of MoMA; her "Americans" series introduced representative groups of works by a few artists without contriving stylistic connections. Her format served the art well, and I appreciated her respectful approach. I too decided to feature a small group of artists to each of whom I would assign an independent space. To reflect the international range of installation art, I felt bound to present some geographical spread, and I aimed also to balance artists who were well known in the New York context with those who had less familiar names. The artists who eventually took part in *Spaces* were Dan Flavin and Robert Morris from New York, Michael Asher and Larry Bell from Los Angeles, and Franz Erhard Walther from Düsseldorf, all of whose work I had followed for some time. Then, augmenting the gallery space with the sculpture garden outdoors, I included Pulsa, a collaborative group who had been unfamiliar to me before I visited Yale University to see them that March. With this selection, I sought to demonstrate the diversity of forms that installations could result in.

Preliminary discussions about participation in the exhibition had begun as soon as the proposal was approved in committee in May. Flavin and Morris were available in New York, and Walther was on a temporary sojourn there from Düsseldorf. In July I spent some days seeing artists in Los Angeles, ultimately reaching an agreement with Asher and Bell.[9] That summer I worked on a floor plan, assigning

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Pulsa, *Untitled*, 1969. Presented at *Spaces*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1969. Photo: James Mathews, © The Museum of Modern Art / licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

areas for each participant. Installations are frequently not discrete units that sit happily with neighbors, and to maintain the integrity of each project I divided the gallery into walled units. The proposals, which began to take shape over the summer, were quite disparate. The most elaborate plan was by Morris. It required a climate-controlled environment sealed to contain growing fir seedlings, with steel plates encasing earth beds in cruciform. Flavin devised a barrier-*cum*-corridor in green and yellow fluorescent tubes. Bell's components, light-refracting glass rods, which he was employing for the first time, were to be shown in a black room. Asher needed sound-absorbing materials for all six surfaces of his gallery, to achieve a silent space into which he would inject white noise. Pulsa's work called for an assembly of electronic devices that would be operated by computer program to produce sound and light effects throughout the garden. Walther needed no material help, only compliant participants. In the gallery in which Walther would demonstrate his pieces, I eliminated a wall to reveal the building's original glass street facade, a move endorsed by Philip Johnson, the architect of the Garden Wing. (The area had been intended as a rear entrance to MoMA, but had never been used as such.) Walther thus agreed to work with an audience on two sides: indoors and outdoors, visitors within the museum and pedestrians on Fifty-Fourth Street.[10]

For a major exhibition in the Garden Wing, the budget allocated to *Spaces* was risible, and the brief preparation time between approval in principle in May and the December opening was unprecedented in my experience.[11] Yet I aimed to offer the participating artists the opportunity to realize projects on a scale that only a museum could facilitate.[12] From the outset, I had to devise ways around fiscal constraints, and corporate aid answered the dilemma. Most art events are achieved with corporate support nowadays,

but the practice was not as widespread then.[13] This solution was novel for me; I had come from Europe, where cultural funds were awarded at the prerogative of government bodies (not necessarily a more benign system, in my experience). Applications for financial aid at MoMA were managed through the development department, but that route required lengthy submission procedures with an uncertain outcome, and I lacked the time. Asking instead for equipment with which to realize the artists' ideas was a fast, pragmatic option, and it did not seem unfitting for works of art that would actually be built by the museum. Via connections among the trustees, entrée to inner circles of private enterprise was feasible. As the proposals from artists came in over the ensuing months, I analyzed their material components. With the help of Bareiss, various manufacturers were approached. Our requests resulted in generous, tangible contributions, which were put at the artists' disposal.[14] The unique resources of a large institution, with skilled technical crews on staff, were available as well.

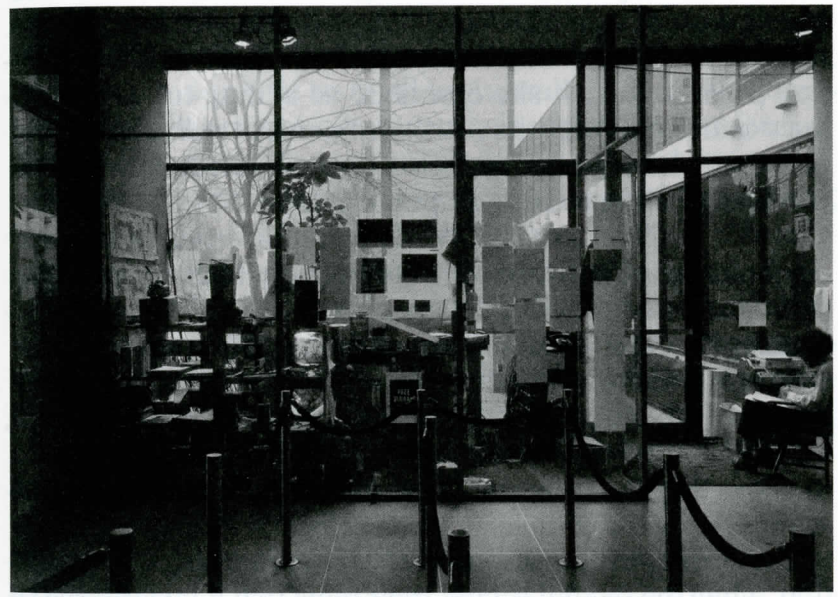
The catalogue was not a straightforward exhibition record since nothing could be photographed beforehand.[15] Instead I allocated pages wherein the artists could publish statements and illustrations to introduce their work. Claude Picasso, then a young photographer working in New York, agreed to document each project during construction.[16] Recent MoMA catalogues had often been late, appearing after exhibitions opened, and I was sternly notified that it was essential for the publication to be produced on time. The *Spaces* catalogue did arrive for the press preview, ahead of the December 30 public opening, but I was dumbfounded when the director of publications arrived in the galleries, almost simultaneously, to tell me it would have to be withdrawn! He asserted that it contained, among the artists' statements, a remark that was offensive to the trustees. (What, I

wonder today, could have caused such drama?) Bareiss, on whom I was obliged to call for crisis control, overruled him. Soon after that, a complaint was passed down from on high that the street window into Walther's space must be boarded up again because it enabled free public viewing of the exhibition—quite unacceptable! Johnson, a board member himself, helped me over that hurdle. (One could always count on his support for contemporary art.) These are just incidents that still come to mind, but they demonstrate in some small measure the extent to which the governing authorities at MoMA remained immured from the tumult swirling through the larger art world, despite all the agitation of that year and the accusations of institutional elitism that were often voiced. Caught on the front line amid a conservative board, apathetic administrators, and a politicized art scene, a curator working with contemporary art could feel pretty embattled.

Museum work, unlike academic art history in the main, requires teamwork, but there was surprisingly little esprit de corps at MoMA. Curatorial departments did not often cooperate. We were rivals for funds, program slots, and gallery space, and so we functioned divisively. Sadly, the institution in my time had forsaken Barr's pioneering objective to exemplify interdependence among fields of creative enterprise: painting, sculpture, photography, film, architecture, design. Concerning contemporary art, obstructionism was the prevalent mode among much of the administrative staff and in other curatorial departments, too. Some colleagues were supportive, but even within the department of painting and sculpture there was antipathy to the art I was introducing.[17]

There was a lot of media coverage of *Spaces*, much of it reasonably positive, and besides interviews for newspapers and magazines I participated in television and radio reports. Press notice and attendance figures were important factors because they influenced the backing a curator

Control booth for Pulsa, *Untitled*, 1969. Presented at *Spaces*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1969. Photo: James Mathews, © The Museum of Modern Art / licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.



might receive for future exhibition or acquisition projects. There were no surprises, as I recall. The critic Hilton Kramer, often hostile to contemporary art, wrote a long piece in the *New York Times* titled "Participatory Esthetics." While excusing himself on grounds of "generational distance," he sweepingly condemned the exhibition. *Spaces*, he wrote, "situates itself at the very center of that large moral and esthetic void where most of our 'advanced' art nowadays exists."[18] In the same paper, Grace Glueck reported at length on the exhibition premise, which she described as adding to "the museum's traditional pursuits . . . the somewhat radical function as esthetic laboratory," and she noted complaints by the Art Workers Coalition about corporate support.[19]

Chief curator William Rubin, never a notable champion of new art, wrote a surprisingly tolerant in-house memorandum following the opening of *Spaces*: "It is certainly lucky that the Museum did not decide to put that off. Not only is it something fascinating even for people like myself who are still stodgy enough to like painting and sculpture, but it is in kind and quality the type of thing we have to do to show that the Museum is responsive to new ideas developing among the younger artists."[20] His first sentence testifies to the doubts of the administration in mounting the exhibition, while the second echoes their relief that it might serve to defray extramural criticism. Long afterward, in 1973, Donald Judd wrote that *Spaces* was MoMA's "single endeavor in ten years to treat an important aspect of contemporary thought."[21]

The format of *Spaces*, the allocation of areas for artists to execute work in situ, helped liberate exhibition practices at MoMA. Bureaucratic constraints began to loosen and impromptu projects became possible, allowing curators to keep abreast of a vigorous art world. Following *Spaces*, which closed in March 1970, I asked Robert Breer to show his kinetic sculptures *Floats* on an empty terrace

during reinstallation of the sculpture garden. Later that same year I invited Robert Irwin to devise a work in the temporarily empty Brancusi gallery. His "site-conditional" piece *Fractured Light–Partial Scrim–Eye Level Wire* initiated, in spirit, the long-lasting Projects series, though prior to official sanction.[22] In April 1971, I presented slides of monumental earthworks by Robert Smithson, Walter De Maria, Michael Heizer, and others to a committee of trustees, to prompt consideration of institutional liability regarding Land art. Later, for an exhibition that traveled to Australia, I compiled a program of video art that subsequently inaugurated that form at MoMA. A permanent program of modest solo exhibitions, in which artists employed gallery spaces in ways of their choice, was approved eventually: the Projects series was officially launched in 1971 and continues to this day.[23]

The installations created for *Spaces* more than forty years ago represented significant change in the practices of an august museum. The exhibition fulfilled my intention to ensure that my home institution remained an arena for the public to appreciate the inventiveness and vitality of emerging art.

My thanks to Dr. Sarah Elliston Weiner for archival assistance.

Exhibiting Works in Publications—Some Examples of Conceptual Art in the USA," in *Rewriting Conceptual Art*, ed. Michael Newman and Jon Bird (London: Reaktion, 1999), 11–26; Gwen Allen, *Artists Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

13 For Klossowski's views and their use by Bal-Blanc, presented within her account of "delegated performance," see Bishop, *Artificial Hells*, 232–38.

14 Philip Dennis Cate, ed., *The Spirit of Montmartre: Cabarets, Humor and the Avant-Garde, 1875–1905* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

15 On March 13 during Spoerri's exhibition, upstairs in Arman's room, 930, one could purchase for $10 a key to a locker at Penn Station, where there would be a good chance of finding an artwork by Arman, Ayo, George Brecht, Christo, William Copley, Niki de Saint Phalle, Robert Filliou, Alberto Greco, Allan Kaprow, Roy Lichtenstein, Dieter Roth, Daniel Spoerri, or Andy Warhol. Burt Chernow, *Christo and Jean-Claude: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin's, 2002), 155–57.

16 Other early Peyton shows were held in the ladies' room of a New York restaurant, an apartment in Cologne, and the Prince Albert Pub in London. Laura Hoptman, "Fin de Siècle," in Laura Hoptman et al., *Live Forever: Elizabeth Peyton* (London: Phaidon Press, 2008), 227.

17 See for instance Sergei Kovalsky et al., *The Space of Freedom: Apartment Exhibitions in Leningrad (1964–1986)* (Richmond, VA: University of Richmond Museums, 2006).

18 Hilary Binks, "The Stars Group of Artists," *Commentary*, Zee Stone Gallery, reprinted at http://en.artintern.net/index.php/review/main/html/4/687. For some Chinese accounts see Lu Peng, "Huang Rui: The Linguistic Context of the Art of the Stars," in *Case Studies of Artists in Art History and Art Criticism I: Artists in Art History* (Changsha: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing Group, 2008).

19 For a personal account and photo of a Loo Division exhibition see Gracie Mansion, "East Side Story: Remembering the 1980s East Village Art Scene," *Artnet*, March 20, 2013, https://news.artnet.com/market/east-side-story-remembering-the-1980s-east-village-art-scene-49732.

20 On this unique Soho institution, which would morph into the alternative space White Columns, see Robyn Brentano and Mark Savitt, eds., *112 Workshop/112 Greene Street: History, Artists and Artwork* (New York: New York University Press, 1981); Jessamyn Fiore, *112 Greene Street: The Early Years (1970–1974)* (New York: Radius Books/David Zwirner, 2012).

21 Robert Lumley, "Arte Povera in Turin: The Intriguing Case of the Deposito d'Arte Presente," in *Marcello Levi: ritratto di un collezionista / Marcello Levi: Portrait of a Collector*, ed. Francesco Manacorda and Robert Lumley (Turin: hopefulmonster editore, 2005), 89–105.

22 For detailed discussion of these two exhibitions see Rattemeyer, *Exhibiting the New Art*.

23 So as to avoid commitment to a particular view of the mental-physical distinction (and a particular solution to the mind-body problem), I opt here to describe the locations of *Hypnotic Show* as mental rather than physical sites, despite Malašauskas's viewing the sites as the brains or minds of the hypnotized.

24 An analogous perspective might apply to virtual exhibitions, with multiple computers functioning as multiple sites at which the show is realized in a variety of ways depending on hardware, software settings, et cetera.

25 A classic early-twentieth-century example is the 1920 *Dada-Vorfrühling* (Dada Early Spring) exhibition in Cologne, mounted by Max Ernst and Johannes Baargeld at the Brauhaus Winter brewery; the show was entered via the men's bathroom, past a row of urinals. Here the choice of site clearly displayed the attitude expressed by the works, such as Ernst's wooden sculpture that he encouraged visitors to destroy with an axe.

26 Miwon Kwon, "One Thing after Another: Notes on Site Specificity," *October* 80 (Spring 1997): 92.

Making *Spaces*: An Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art

Jennifer (Licht) Winkworth

1 René d'Harnoncourt, who retired in 1967, was succeeded by Bates Lowry (1968–69); Walter Bareiss, trustee and interim director (1969–70); John Hightower (1970–72); and Richard Oldenburg (1972–95).

2 *Mark Rothko*, organized by Peter Selz, 1961.

3 Recently Michelle Elligott has described the political backdrop in the essay "Creating 'Spaces': Documents from the Pioneering 1969 Exhibition," *Esopus* 18 (Spring 2012): 108–23.

4 Julie Reiss provides an admirable summary of the activism that created turmoil in the New York art world of the late 1960s and early 1970s in *From Margin to Center: The Spaces of Installation Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), esp. chapter 3, "Spaces."

5 Press release, March 7, 1969, Archive of the Museum of Modern Art, http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/4209/releases/MOMA_1969_Jan-June_0042_32.pdf?2010.

6 Organized by guest director K. G. Pontus Hultén, director of the Moderna Museet, Stockholm.

7 Donald Judd, in his essay "Specific Objects," analyzed how the new manifestations differed in form from paintings and sculptures. Donald Judd, "Specific Objects," *Arts Yearbook* 8 (1965): 74–82.

8 "Statement by Bates Lowry, Director, The Museum of Modern Art," press release, March 30, 1969, Archive of the Museum of Modern Art, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/4230/releases/MOMA_1969_Jan-June_0063.pdf.

9 On that trip, besides Asher and Bell, I also asked James Turrell to participate in *Spaces*, but he was averse then to making his debut in a major institution.

10 For detailed descriptions of each work see Reiss, *From Margin to Center*.

11 Even an opening reception was not envisaged; finally in November a small sum was hastily found for a modest party for the artists.

12 The artists were to receive an honorarium in addition to a per diem for travel and construction time on museum premises, another departure from normal exhibition practice.

13 For a review of the increase in corporate sponsorship over the past few decades see Michael Findlay, *The Value of Art: Money, Power, Beauty* (New York: Prestel, 2012).

14 A three-page, itemized press release was devoted solely to the list of donors: "Corporations Contribute Materials and Services to Museum of Modern Art Exhibition," press release, December 30, 1969; https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/4396/releases/MOMA_1969_July-December_0089_163.pdf.

15 Even the catalogue cover was the result of a donation.
16 Claude Picasso's photographs of the works in progress were displayed in a small gallery adjoining the exhibition. (Picasso subsequently became executor and administrator of his father Pablo Picasso's estate in France.)
17 Among my own small team, working directly to bring the exhibition to fruition, I was fortunate to count Roberta Smith, now a leading critic but then, at the outset of her career, a perceptive assistant.
18 Hilton Kramer, "Participatory Esthetics," *New York Times*, January 11, 1970, 105.
19 Grace Glueck, "Museum Beckoning Space Explorers," *New York Times*, January 2, 1970, 34.
20 William Rubin, internal memorandum to William Lieberman, temporary director of painting and sculpture, January 9, 1970.
21 Donald Judd, "Complaints, Part II," *Arts Magazine* 47, no. 5 (March 1973): 30–32.
22 The acting department head, William Lieberman, was so perturbed by Irwin's work, a Minimalist transformation of the space, that he accused me of subversion! For Irwin's own reminiscence see Lawrence Weschler, "Profiles, Taking Art to Point Zero," *New Yorker*, March 8, 1982, reprinted at https://www.newnewjournalism.com/bio.php?last_name=weschler.
23 "Projects" was the descriptive term for installation work, much in currency at the time, that I employed throughout the catalogue text for *Spaces*.

Excavating *Real Estate* **79**
Alan W. Moore

1 Coleen Fitzgibbon, email to the author, February 10, 2012.
2 Michael Goddard, "Memories of a *Semiotext(e)* Reader," April 2, 2011, https://michaelgoddard.wordpress.com/2011/04/02/memories-of-a-semiotexte-reader/.
3 Goddard, "Memories of a *Semiotext(e)* Reader."
4 Peter Fend, "Letter to *Skyline*," in *ABC No Rio Dinero: The Story of a Lower East Side Art Gallery*, ed. Alan W. Moore and Marc Miller (New York: Collaborative Projects, 1985), 59.
5 J. Martin Pedersen, "Property, Commoning and the Politics of Free Software," *Commoner* 14 (Winter 2010): 18, also at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1761097.
6 Nicholas Mirzoeff, "What Is Occupy Theory Now?," March 7, 2012, http://www.nicholasmirzoeff.com/02012/2012/03/07/what-is-occupy-theory-now/.
7 Father Daniel Berrigan, speech at Zuccotti Park, New York, "Democracy Now" webcast, June 8, 2012.

Project Unité **99**
Yves Aupetitallot

1 André Malraux, *Discours d'inauguration de la Maison de la Culture de Bourges* [Opening speech at the House of Culture in Bourges], April 18, 1964, http://www.archives18.fr/arkotheque/client/ad_cher/_depot_arko/articles/933/discours-d-andre-malraux-18-avril-1964._doc.pdf, my translation.
2 Georges Boudaille, introduction, in *La Nouvelle Biennale de Paris* (Paris: Electa Moniteur, 1985), 9, 35.
3 Pierre Gaudibert, *Du culturel au sacré* (Paris: Casterman, 1981), 18–19, 25. Excerpt translated by John Lee.
4 Some of this background was elicited in an interview published as "*Project Unité* à Firminy—Entretien avec Yves Aupetitallot," *MAY Editions* 4, no. 2 (2014): 84–111.
5 The show included Martine Aballéa, Marie Bourget, Daniel Buren, Gérard Collin-Thiébaut, Jacqueline Dauriac, Gloria Friedmann, I.F.P., Bertrand Lavier, Claude Lévêque, Présence Panchounette, Claude Rutault, Sarkis, and Jacques Vieille, various private locations in Nevers, France, May 30–June 30, 1984.
6 Yves Aupetitallot, letter to the artists, 1985.
7 Harald Szeemann in *documenta 5*, directed by Jef Cornelis (1972; Zurich: JRP/Ringier, 2012).
8 Helmut Draxler, "The Turn from the Turns: An Avant-Garde Moving out of the Centre (1986–93)," in *Exhibition as Social Intervention: "Culture in Action," 1993* (London: Afterall, 2014), 44–64.

Places with a Past **117**
Mary Jane Jacob

1 Nigel Redden had previously worked in a multidisciplinary environment while head of performing arts at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis under Martin Friedman. He later went on to head the dance program at the National Endowment for the Arts.
2 Beatrice Cummings Mayer became interested in the Spoleto Festival USA when the Sara Lee Corporation, led by her father, operated in South Carolina. She joined the festival's board in 1982 before Redden had come on board. That year she facilitated the festival's visual arts exhibition at the local Gibbes Museum of Art, when she secured an exhibition I had curated of Chicagoan Margaret Wharton at the Museum of Contemporary Art, where I was then chief curator; Mayer, a Chicago resident, was a trustee at the museum. During the late 1980s Mayer was a driving force in the creation of the Nathan Cummings Foundation in New York, honoring her father's legacy.
3 Giovanni Carandente, curator of *Sculptures in the City*, invited ten artists, among them David Smith, who created his exceptional *Voltri* series on site.
4 See for example the exhibition catalogue *Kick Out the Jams: Detroit's Cass Corridor 1963–77* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1980).
5 Here, Münster was a reference, too. The projects that most captured my attention in 1987 were those that had also sharply distinguished this show from its previous, inaugural installment by provocatively probing that